/8 cont./

Birth and death of the first-born. The father must pay the 851 expenses of pregnancy and delivery, as well as those occasioned by the celebration of the birth of his first child, and he is expected to offer a special feast at his own expense at the place where the birth occurred. The news of the birth of the child spreads rapidly and draws relatives and friends from all parts. At midday the dance, which lasts all night, begins, in which the [534] single women and all the men take part. The rhythm is supplied [535] by a double-headed drum made of deer or goat hide. The dancing takes place within a large circle, around the edges of which the couples participating and the curious onlookers gather. The women attend in their finest dresses without forgetting their ornaments (necklaces, bracelets, and anklets) and wear wound round the head a handkerchief, which falls over the shoulder, and have their faces very carefully painted. The men wear broad belts wonderfully embroidered and feather headpieces.

[273] The father must supply his guests with Guajiro rum or with smuggled foreign liquor. Also chicha (made from chewed corn) [541] is prepared and is served liberally. Apart from the dancing there may be horse racing, if the people are rich, and for this they bring their finest animals. At dawn the next day cattle, if the father is rich, and goats are slaughtered, which are prepared and divided among the participants according to their importance in the family, the group, and the total collectivity in general. All the participants return to their homes by sunrise.

In addition to the father, the maternal and paternal relatives [431] join in the celebration of the birth, bringing gifts for the newly born. The father also makes him a present of heads of livestock, [428] which constitute almost the only inheritance he will get during his lifetime, as it is the nephews of the father, (sons of his sister) who inherit the capital and not the sons, according to law, when the marriage has been carried out according to the Guajiro rite.

851 The paternal grandfather also shows his recognition and 43 generosity toward his grandson. If he owns livestock, he is 603 obliged to give a pair of each -- horses, burros, cows, goats,

/8 cont./

851 431 [603] sheep, fowl. The maternal grandfather has a similar obligation, and he is expected to give as much as the other. It is customary for the most notable /connotado/ maternal uncle to show his affection and recognition of his nephew -- his veritable son -- by making him a special gift of heads of livestock. /9/

In addition, the female neighbors and friends of the mother come to visit her, and they do not fail to bring some present for the new infant, such as balls of thread to make his hammock, his swaddling clothes, etc.

With the livestock received at his birth the child starts his capital. His animals are cared for by his father, together with those belonging to the mother, or by the most outstanding maternal uncle who has shown most affection for his nephew activities until the boy becomes capable of looking after his own interests.

* * *

766 The death of the first-born child is an event of outstanding importance because of the consequences it may bring about. This is one of the reasons why the father is greatly concerned about the first pregnancy of his wife and why he endeavors to take her to the home of her relatives in order that her child may be born there, placing on them the responsibility he seeks to avoid. This is cause enough for later births not to be attended by the maternal relatives, and in the long run the woman may have to give birth alone through force of circumstances.

The wife and her relatives acknowledge responsibility for the first-born's death and not only for his death as such but also as it may bear upon the birth of future children. When the first-born dies he is placed in a clay pitcher head downward, covered with the base of a new clay jar, and buried in the woods, not in the clan cemetery but certainly in land belonging to his family, at the foot of a pole called huruwá, so that the other children to be born will not also die. All ceremonies usual at

/15 cont./

854 /ajuar/ for the coming child. Many times the mother is forced to improvise items by using old robes to wrap him in or a bag made of agave fiber for his hammock to protect him from the cold at night.

The Guajiro woman who is in contact with civilization and is comfortably off economically prepares a hammock for the arrival of the child, or weaves it or has it made afterward, using the hanks of cotton thread she has received as gifts. Children 854 wear clothes only when they go on trips. If they are baptized 291 in the Catholic faith, they receive their outfit /ajuar/ from their [608 godmother, who is also expected to present a dress to the mother. #31] As the child usually goes about naked, they do not make any clothes to wear. Some rather long cloths useful as swaddling clothes and coverlets are prepared and serve various purposes. Wherever possible the mothers try to avoid the child's dirtying them with his excretions, in order to lighten the problem of cleanliness, since water is scarce. /16/

854 Neither are the Guajiro mothers in the habit of wrapping bellybands round their infants. The navel is left exposed even [164] when it is not completely healed. For this reason ruptures are frequent as well as the death of the newly born due to infection of the navel. But they do use a kind of awning fixed over the [136] child's hammock to protect him from falling centipedes, snakes, and scorpions that abound in the roofs of the huts, which are covered with plant materials.

* * *

Care, training, and treatment of young children. From birth the child is looked after by people other than his mother, as she is obliged to seek such assistance to be able to attend to her other domestic obligations or to rest and have someone to whom she can delegate this care. When she goes to a place relatively near by, the mother does not take the child but leaves it in the care of his older brothers and sisters or her relatives, when they

/153 cont./

him with a series of magic remedies and medicinal plants which have been fully described in the article /154/ previously cited. Also at the present time it is not uncommon for them to call in the services of a white doctor, either in Uribia, the capital of the peninsula, or in the near-by cities of Venezuela, such as Maracaibo, or in the neighboring Colombian department of Magdalena.

But their culture possesses a traditional institution that answers these requirements: the shaman, whose essential activity has been fully treated in the work which we cited at the beginning of this chapter and to which we refer the reader. This institution, perhaps the most powerful in Guajiro culture, has been losing value for various reasons already studied in the article we have cited, but it still occupies an outstanding place within the social and cultural whole, to the point that when an Indian is gravely ill, his relatives think immediately of the shaman as the most advisable means of curing the sick man, as this functionary (the shaman) possesses considerable magic powers due to his having been selected by the benevolent spirits to be their intermediary in their frequent contacts with the community. For this reason, to obtain the aid of the shaman is to have in one's favor the friendship and co-operation of the well-wishing spirits who can save the patient from death, because for the Guajiro, illness is caused by the action of pernicious spirits who want to cause harm and to avenge themselves.

The first necessary condition for the shaman to take charge of the cure is the gift to him of a piece of jewelry, an ornament of gold, generally a necklace, /the value of/ which should be in relation to the family status of the patient as well as the standing of the shaman. A second condition is the tacit submission to the shaman's demands and instructions.

The shaman, once he has decided to take charge of the cure of the patient, goes to his house and submits the sick man to the customary ritual. His practices, which last several

/220 cont./

428 587 influential Guajiro of Upper La Guajira had contracted marriage with two women from each of the two clan groups of La Guajira. Becoming very ill and feeling his last hours approaching, it pained him that his illness did not permit him to buy a prepubescent girl he desired so that after his death his nephews would have a motive for quarreling; he was extremely sorry that he would not be able to be present at their squabbles.

The possession of women by inheritance has been gradually weakened, especially in cases where they would have young men as future owners, they being already mature. However, the social precept is maintained that if they wish to contract marriage, the man who wants them must give an agreed-upon sum to their new owner.

428 d) Bond servants, slaves, and their descendants pass under the control of the consanguineous relatives of the deceased in accordance with the special rules of inheritance. This human property passes under the new ownership under the same special conditions of low status under which they were living previously.

e) As regards land, we can say that usufruct of communal property is inherited as well as the right to usufruct of the family agricultural plot, following the uncle to maternal nephew succession in this case.

f) With respect to the dwelling we have the following situation: Every important family usually locates itself in a place of easy access with abundant water, or at least sufficient for their needs, and at the center of the regions of pasture land. The consanguineous members of these families usually form /221/ their new family cells around this primary nucleus. On the death of the owners the original house becomes the property of their descendants through the maternal line.

* * *

428 431 A particular form of inheritance that we ought to consider in this study is that of gifts made while the owner is alive, gifts

/221 cont./

428 of livestock, jewelry, and personal objects, made by the mother
431 and uterine relatives on one hand and the father and his ascendants on the other.

As regards jewelry and personal objects, there are two things that move the native to make these gifts while alive: 1) Because these elements of material culture must be buried with the owner, and this custom prevents their distribution in the form of inheritance, so that their acquisition can only be accomplished by gifts made during /the owner's/ life. 2) Because the father and his ascendants do not consider themselves consanguineous relatives of the son, and for this reason he has no right to inherit from them. The payment that the man makes for his wife to her uterine relatives indemnifies her descendants for this exclusion from participation in his legacy. But nevertheless the culture allows and insists that jewelry and personal objects on the part of the maternal relatives and livestock on the part of the paternal relatives should be given to the children, and it establishes special opportunities for doing so, such as the following: when the young women emerge from their seclusion during the initiation ceremony; at the time of marriage in order to make up a suitable dowry for the young wife in accord with her status and that of her husband; also when a man is about to contract marriage, as we explained in the pertinent section; and, finally, when any one of the members of the group has violated the regimen for social stability and it is necessary to indemnify the offended party, when donations have to be provided by the relatives through the maternal line.

The gift of livestock on the part of the father and his relatives takes place on successive occasions. When the first-born arrives, he receives a gift from the paternal grandfather, who "has the obligation of giving him a horse, burro, cow, goat, sheep, and hen" (pairs of these animals for breeding). The father should give as much again on the birth of each succeeding child. And on successive occasions he gives each one of the children some animal as a reward or stimulus. When the boy comes of age,

/221 cont./

428 that is, when he gets married, his father must hand over to him all the animals that are his personal property. It is then that
431 the largest of the gifts is given. /222/ If this is not given, the boy is always waiting for his father to give it on some other occasion, but should the father die before having given it, the paternal relatives will not concede it to the young man, even though this may be a cause of fighting between the two clan groups.

428 The payment in livestock which the wife receives from the husband for inconveniences suffered during her pregnancy and for each childbirth can also be considered as indirect participation in his goods.

We know that funeral customs establish that when a man dies livestock that is his property must be slaughtered and distributed among the friends who attend the wake at the time of the death and those who attend the second burial. In order to comply with this norm the Guajiro has established gifts of livestock from the maternal relatives, the same as the father does with his children. When a new family member is born, the maternal uncles, especially the one most looked up to by the mother, make a present of livestock to the child which constitute, with the gifts he receives from the paternal relatives, his initial patrimony. These goods keep on growing with successive calving and with the addition of the gifts he receives from his mother, his maternal grandmother, and from other relatives when he becomes capable of caring for them himself. Finally, on marrying for the first time (we must keep in mind that polygamy exists), all the animals destined for him are handed over.

The daughters receive the larger portion of livestock on getting married, especially when they belong to groups of high status and they have been bought at a high price to be consistent with this high value and to maintain the social and economic standing of their family.

428 It should be emphasized, finally, that at the present time
178 the laws of inheritance, as we stated at the beginning, are no longer uniform, due to the steady process of acculturation in the

[18 cont.]
*756 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208 ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.
847] By what has been previously stated we see how the ceremony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a continual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive, and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been called in to handle one.

●[431] First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or some other valuable present.

171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
755 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most important of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profession is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any convenient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

[123 cont.]

796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; 2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing 796 arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

In normal times in the community this act would lead to 684 outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta. 796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [848] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.

[125 cont.]

524 796 831 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to [431] those who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them again. The girls later return the presents which are only simulated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta" [The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this respect; "To their normal way of life, occupied with their daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent prohibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and encourages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most irresponsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish background of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the collective abandonment which characterized these ancient riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months, interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At times it required several years to gather together the quantity of comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC13

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses.
[595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanc-
[554] tioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system
[587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected
[593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an elder than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and
[431] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

608 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro.
609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as
597 step-parents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

father's relatives who would eat the meat and drink the rum immediately, a feast to which the mother's relatives might be invited as a gesture of courtesy. The offering of rum and meat is voluntary, and even a friend may ask for something as an indication of deep personal interest in the welfare of the injured person. If the injured man makes no offering, no action is taken by anyone to make him do so, but he will acquire a 'bad name.' A Guajiro has a moral obligation to avoid shedding his own blood, but not a legal obligation. Since the father takes care of his son during his lifetime, this obligation is directed towards him and his relatives, but is extended to include any good friend.

Another example of the same distinction is the case where a son asks his father for a particular horse or object possessed by the latter, as a gift. The father is morally bound to grant the request, but there is no legal compulsion to do so. I gave a cacique a fine hunting knife which pleased him greatly. To my surprise his son was proudly wearing it the following day. On inquiring about it the cacique told me that his eldest son had asked for it. Had he refused to give it he would have been considered a bad father. The son inherits nothing from his father on the death of the latter, but while he is alive the son may beg anything within certain limits set by precedent. This moral obligation to give up a prized possession when asked for by one's sons is extended to include close friends.

Allowing the Guajiro to make their own distinctions, let us turn to a consideration of their 'laws.' The commission of certain acts, which in our society would give rise to criminal prosecution, in Guajiro society are considered matters to be settled by the parties concerned. Criminal law is practically non-existent. There is no body politic, properly speaking, that metes out punishment whether or not the injured party seeks redress, and social pressure can hardly be of any importance in a society that protects the individual through the instrument of family and casta membership. In only one case does there seem to be an approach to concerted social action. If an individual has caused his family much trouble and is incorrigible, if his family has been called upon to pay for his mis-

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

domestery, a site chosen in some solitary arid spot, and surrounded by walls of cacti. At the death of Salvador, a Pushaina from Arroyo Cardon, 120 fat oxen were killed, and the hides did not pay for the liquor drunk. Two of the same family meeting for the first time after the death of a relation, must squat down on their hands in front of each other, and sob and weep, for at least a quarter of an hour, the louder the better. 764 765

The Indians are very punctilious in saluting. Calling at a rancho, visitors must wait until spoken to, if this is not done soon, it is evident they are not welcome, so ride away. The words used never seem to be the same. The most frequent are "Intishi-pia" (you have come), or "Eiguare pia" (so you have arrived). In eating and drinking the Indians are extremely cleanly. The principals all eat separately; receiving their allowance in an earthenware dish, *posé*, with a gourd spoon, *pushi*. The remains, with an addition, serve for the lower members of the family. Water is invariably given after, to wash the mouth and fingers. Even if a drink of milk is taken, a little water is tendered after. As to their hospitality, it has, I believe, been rather exaggerated. There is no doubt that the Goajiro is more hospitable than the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada, but then he is also far more cunning and diplomatic, and his hospitality is a mere question of self-interest. He will willingly give a sheep or a goat as a present, provided there is a chance of claiming an ox in return. He is chivalresque in his donations. When he does give a sheep, it is a fat one, his best, and given whole, without reserve, skin and all. If eating, on the arrival of a stranger, he may offer food to him, but certainly will give if requested, as is the custom, always begging. One thing a guest may rely upon receiving in a rancho is a hammock, even if the owner has to sleep on the ground. Lastly, among curious customs, is that of parents assuming the names of their children with the prefix *nashi* or *sushi* if the father, and *ni* or *si* if the mother. Thus the father of Juan would call himself "Nushijuan," or if a daughter, "Sushijuana." The mother of Juan would be called "Nijuan," and if a daughter, "Sijuana." 574 [264] [415] [431] 551

The dress of the Goajiros is extremely simple, and probably similar to his savage luxury of three centuries ago, when Alfinger devastated the land, except that his own quiet blacks and browns—for he is cunning in the art of dyeing—have given way to the gorgeous blues, reds, and yellows of European wool. His every day working costume is simply a strip of cloth from three inches wide upwards, called *cairkera*. When paying visits, receiving company, or travelling, he dons his best—a large loincloth with many folds, and the home-woven mantle *shi*, with a magnificent sash, *si-ira*. The mantle is managed with wonderful elegance, now letting it fall about him in voluptuous folds, or dropping it from his shoulders, and tucking it into his immense sash, where his arrows are carried. The hair, which is jet black, thick, and cut short, is kept back in a very eclectic style by a ring or crown, 291 [386] [171] 302 291

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Nephew

604 The general attitude of the maternal uncle toward his nephew is one of giving; and that of the nephew, one of receiving.

428 Let us first deal with inheritance. Theoretically, the rule
604 is that the maternal uncle must leave all of his property, both
183 personal and in the form of cattle, to his oldest sister's eldest son.
431 All his other nephews,—other sons of the same sister or sons of other sisters,—are left out of the inheritance. This is the rule. However, in practice it seldom works, as the maternal uncle during his life continues to transfer his property in the form of gifts to his own male children, so that at the time of his death there is nothing, or very little, left of his property to be inherited by his nephew, unless the uncle is a very rich man. Only among the wealthy class has the uncle always something left to bequeath to his nephew. For this he does not need a will as it falls within the prescribed rule mentioned above. The following cases are illustrative.

428 Ilaro is the eldest son of a man named Rafael living at Uribia,
431 and, like his mother, belongs to the Arpushaina sib. Ilaro's
604 mother is the elder of the two sisters of Calleja, who in turn is the eldest of five siblings,—two sisters and three brothers. Thus Ilaro, his mother, and his uncle Calleja are all seniors.
[556] Calleja is not looked upon as a rich man, although he is well fixed and belongs to the middle class. Ilaro, however, does not expect much, if any, inheritance from his uncle and is aware
[231] that the latter has been transferring most of his cattle,—the most valuable possession in Guajiro eyes,—in the form of gifts to his own sons. The writer visited Ilaro's uncle who lives
[422] nearby and saw the cattle already branded with his son's personal brand. Ilaro is not at all concerned about the property of his other uncles as their property will pass automatically to their own children.

This next case illustrates a different situation. Pacheco is a very rich man who lives in Carraipia. He has a nephew,—the senior maternal nephew,—who lives there also. Pacheco has a son of his own and the present writer observed that some of Pacheco's cattle have already been branded for his son, but

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

as his herds are large there are quite a number still unbranded. Pacheco informed me that at the time of his death, those left unbranded will automatically—following the inheritance rule—go to his nephew.

The attitudes of these two nephews, Ilaro on one hand, and Paco, Pacheco's nephew, on the other, are quite different. Ilaro has very little to do with his uncle. He seldom visits him, although they live quite near each other, and their relations are somewhat detached. However, there is no animosity between them and the writer noticed that they speak of each other, not badly, but with indifference. In the case of Pacheco and his nephew the relationship is very close. They pay each other visits with regularity, and Pacheco shows a paternalistic attitude toward his nephew and is always willing to help him in every way possible. On the other hand Paco never shows any hesitation in going to his uncle for whatever he needs regardless of whether his own father is able to help him or not.

Pacheco has other nephews, brothers of Paco and others, but he has practically no relations with them. They never go to him for any assistance and he does not expect them to do so. Regarding inheritance they, of course, receive nothing whatever from Pacheco at his death.

It appears that generally the attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what he expects from him in the way of inheritance. There are cases, however, where mutual understanding and regard and affection are strong ties regardless of what the nephew expects. Such is the following case. Camilo is the only son of a poor man living at Cardon. He has a senior maternal uncle living at Manaure who is also poor. Although living at quite a distance, Camilo often goes to pay a visit to his uncle, and is often visited by him. Camilo shows great respect toward his uncle and speaks of him as being a very good man, who would do anything for him if he could, but he is aware that his uncle can do very little for him. The writer visited the uncle at Manaure and verified the impression of him given by Camilo. He holds his nephew in high regard, is very much concerned in all that Camilo does and in how he is getting along in life.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

or 16 years old—and it is entirely up to Ramoncito to find a suitable mate for her. As yet there is no prospective bridegroom but when he is found he will be entirely Ramoncito's choice. Ramoncito may seek the advice of Estrella's parents, but the final say rests with him. Even the girl has little or nothing to do with the selection. Ramoncito will settle the bride price and collect it all for himself. He will not share it with his other brothers nor will the girl's parents receive any part of it. Ramoncito concerns himself greatly about Estrella and seldom lets a day pass without paying her a visit. Estrella comes to visit her uncle quite frequently too, either alone—for they live close by—or with her mother, and she always brings a little gift for Ramoncito's only child. Ramoncito has another sister whose daughter is already married. In this case it was Ramoncito again who made all the arrangements for the marriage, selecting a wealthy bridegroom, settling the bride price, and collecting it. He kept all of it for himself as he is supposed to do. None of the other relatives had anything to say regarding the marriage.

The following is another case, one from a different level of society. Carmelina is the daughter of a poor man who lives at San Antonio. She has only one maternal uncle, who is also poor. About a year ago her uncle insisted upon her marrying the bridegroom whom he had already selected for her. The bride price was arranged and collected by her uncle, but he being a wasteful man—according to Carmelina—went to Venezuela, sold the cattle there and spent all of his money. Since that time this uncle has been trying to get some cattle from Carmelina's husband, but, as he has no further claim on his niece, they have refused him. Carmelina, apparently is happy in her marriage and glad to be out of her uncle's reach. He pays frequent visits to his niece, but as he is received with cool indifference his visits are less frequent than they used to be.

Now for the actual pattern of behavior. The present writer was able to observe personally the mode of behavior between Estrella and Ramoncito and between Carmelina and her uncle. Let us take Estrella's case first. Apart from the fact that in the Guajira whenever we find a mixed group the women in-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

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upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladtvet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.

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inherit. They hold him in great respect. A man's chief heir is thus his eldest nephew and he takes particular care of him. During his lifetime a well-to-do man will give his sons enough cattle to ensure that they will not be left destitute when he dies. Each clan has its name and its symbol: the jaguar, rattle-snake, king vulture, dog, etc., but this has no connection with totemism or magic. The Indians think no more of their name's meaning than we do, when people have animal names. They often joke about them.

A number of the clans are large and powerful, others small and weak, sometimes entirely dependent on one of the big clans. Those born into a big clan are fortunate, for they have power behind them and can count on support and help if they are insulted, threatened or robbed, for the members of a clan stick together whatever happens, united by the bond of blood. The same blood flows in all their veins. The Indians imagine that the human grows from a drop of the mother's blood, and that the foetus feeds on the new vital fluid—for they know that menstruation ceases during pregnancy.

A man does not possess the right to dispose of his blood or his life. They both belong to the clan. If he hurts himself so that blood flows he must pay damages to his clan for shedding their blood. Suicide is also punishable, though not at all unusual. After an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, the clan will claim damages, even if no blood has been shed. An Indian wanting to take his own life hangs himself. Such importance is attached to the shedding of blood, that, if someone strikes another and makes his nose bleed, this is regarded as an aggravating circumstance and increases the compensation the victim demands. His whole clan will consider itself insulted. In fact, one can really say that an Indian only has the usufruct of his life and blood.

It is the same with the land. The land in the peninsula is owned by the clans, each of which has its own defined territory. The cultivable areas are not large and lie round the few water-courses that are not dry during most of the year. These plantations are traditionally exploited by certain families in each clan and are inherited by the eldest nephews.

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riage. A Guajiro woman has no right to sell her body. The law does not recognize prostitution.

A married woman's relatives and clan do not leave her entirely in her husband's hands. He may not do as he likes with her, nor cause her suffering. Suffering and discomfort she is bound to experience in childbirth, however, and of that he is the primary cause; thus whether as a result of legal or illegal relations, the man must compensate the mother for her confinement by giving her family a few cattle. The woman herself may not eat their meat under any circumstances.

Originally the Guajiro clans were exogamous; members were not allowed to marry within the clan. That is no longer insisted upon, but not only brothers and sisters, but maternal males and cousins on the mother's side, are still reckoned among the forbidden degrees. It is unthinkable that an Indian girl should marry her maternal uncle; that would be like having her father for her husband. It once happened that an uncle and niece had a secret relationship and the girl became pregnant. A monk married them, but the Indians regarded the relationship as a heinous crime and the whole district reacted so violently that the couple had to leave the peninsula and go far away, where there was no risk of meeting members of their tribe.

There is nothing to prevent an Indian getting himself several wives. Infrequently white men have married into Guajiro families and they too have had to pay a bride-price. A number of poor Creoles have contracted Guajiro marriages with poor girls. I have already mentioned how foreign oil workers made Guajiro marriages. In those early days there were no arrangements made for employees' families, and the Guajiro girls suited those primitive conditions very well, though as a rule such marriages with Indian girls were very short-lived, as those of the Creoles with them still are. The girl is soon abandoned, if that can be done without risk, the girl's family in such cases being powerless. So the Indians told me.

The monks had already told us that where Creoles had married Guajiro girls of good family, those marriages had

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would not have been pleased if we had not managed to get her looking nice and pale. In reality her complexion was perhaps a shade too dark. Mauana asked if everyone in our country was as fair-skinned as my wife, and when I assured him that they were, he wondered whether he should not send his daughter to Sweden for a time to let her become lighter. The girl did not appear to be so very young. Francisco told us that Mauana was not finding it easy to marry her off. Being the greatest and richest chief in the Macuira Hills, with plantations that were always watered, the price he must ask for her was considerable by Indian standards, and though there had been no lack of inquiries, no deal had yet been made. All this according to Francisco. The price could not be lowered. The girl's uncle insisted on that, as she did too. Every Indian girl is proud of commanding a high price. That not only shows that she is of good family, but also that her mother and grandmother cost a lot too, in other words that she is of an old, propertied family.

'You often hear people say,' Francisco added, 'that it is better to pay little for a wife from a poor family who has been taught to work well, than to give much for a rich girl who only wants to be waited upon. But the fact is that the rich girl's family will provide her with what she might need to live according to her status even after she has married. She will still be supported from home. That, of course, lightens the husband's duties: so it isn't so silly to marry a rich wife,' and he sighed heavily.

Mauana then joined us and he too began discussing marriage. We had heard a certain amount on this subject already, but listened nonetheless attentively. A suitor does not go in person to ask for a girl's hand; he sends a proxy, his eldest maternal uncle or, if possible, a chief on his mother's side. His mother usually goes as well, Sometimes a whole deputation arrives, to be given a ceremonial reception.

The delegates bring with them gifts in the form of necklaces of gold beads and tuma stones. A man like Mauana could expect several of these. If the gifts are accepted, as almost always they are, they at once start discussing the

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hands to their faces. From one and all rose the lugubrious, shrill lament that had to sound uninterruptedly as long as the dead man was above ground. (For some time after the funeral, the man's nearest relatives would begin the day with a song of lament.) After some time the wailers nearest to the bier began to make way for others, and then we too began lamenting, imitating the sound as best we could, as politeness required that every guest should.

One of the men now turned and pulled the cloak from his face. It was our host. He was very glad to see us and, above all, seemed to be flattered that my wife had come. He was already slightly under the weather, swaying a little on his feet, and in one hand he held an enamel chamberpot. He looked so comical that my wife had to hold her handkerchief over her mouth so that none should see what difficulty she was having in keeping a straight face. Our host thought she was very moved and at once ordered one of his fattest sheep to be given her to 'dry her tears', as it is called. He always called her majayura, maiden, remarking: 'She is far too young and lovely to be married.' This, of course, was meant as a compliment. He added that he knew very well what we usually ate. He knew that we were from the same part of the world as the monks and that these people lived on bread, sugar and potatoes. He had tasted them in Nazaret. But perhaps we also liked meat? We assured him that we did, and he promised us large pieces of beef and as much maize beer as we wished. Then he had to go and attend to his other guests.

Burials are big affairs. A good proportion of the dead person's livestock has to be slaughtered to accompany him into the hereafter. The guests feast on this meat, and afterwards each is given some to take home. We walked round to look at the many camps, some under cactus trees, others in the open. There were several hundred Indians assembled there. Everywhere sheep were being slaughtered, meat was being roasted and people were feasting. One old woman was stuffing congealed blood from a calabash with both hands. The whole place smelt of blood, maize beer and spirits. Here and there someone was galloping on a horse. Many of

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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain from all association with his friends and keep away from feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept muttering imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 881
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [431]
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [606]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and